DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 222 441 SO 014 355

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TITLE The Struggle To Survive: Work for Racial Ethnic Women in the 18th- and 19th-Century United States.
SPONS AGENCY Ford Foundation, New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE Sep 82
NOTE 23p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, (San Francisco, CA, September 6-10, 1982).

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Blacks; *Chinese Americans; *Employed Women; Ethnic Groups; Labor Force; *Mexican Americans; *Sex Discrimination; Slavery; United States History

ABSTRACT

The work situations of Black, Mexican American, and Chinese immigrant women in 18th- and 19th-century United States are explored. Generally, when engaged in agricultural work, all ethnic people were considered units of labor. However, because the slave owner needed to perpetuate his property, Black women were allowed lower rates of production when bearing and nursing children. After freedom, sharecropping created the same situation; although Black women attempted to perform domestic chores for their own families, landowners demanded that they work in the fields. In industry, the need for cheap labor created the influx of Chinese male workers, most of whom left their families in China. The majority of Chinese women who came to the United States engaged in prostitution. Since the pay of Chinese men was low, a prostitute's pay was also low. Also, Chinese women were always vulnerable to sexual exploitation. Similarly, with the loss of their land rights, Mexican Americans were also forced into the labor system. To supplement poor pay, the women had to work as domestics and as singers and dancers. In all cases, labor which would specifically benefit the family was done after obligations to the commercial market were met. (KC)

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THE STRUGGLE TO SURVIVE: WORK FOR RACIAL ETHNIC WOMEN IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURY UNITED STATES

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Paper prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting
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San Francisco, September 6-10, 1982.

SO 014 355

The author wishes to thank the Ford Foundation for funding to make this work possible. Appreciation is expressed to Lynn Weber Cannon, Bonnie Thornton Dill, Cheryl Gilkes, Evelyn Nakano Glenn and Ruth Zambrana for help in developing the ideas expressed here, and also to Barbara Houston for her editorial assistance and encouragement.

THE STRUGGLE TO SURVIVE: WORK FOR RACIAL ETHNIC WOMEN IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURY UNITED STATES

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This paper explores the work situations of Black, Mexican American and Chinese immigrant women in the U.S. Racial ethnic people were incorporated into the U.S. to work, either as slaves or wage workers, and were consistently treated differently from white workers. The situations of racial ethnic women are best understood within the context of the work they did which created consequences for other areas of life. When engaged in agricultural work, racial ethnic people were seen as individual units of labor, with women performing duties similar to men. When racial ethnic males were incorporated into a colonial labor system to build the infrastructure for industrialization, women also suffered. The men's wages could not support families, so women were forced into employment outside the home. Their jobs involved commercial reproductive labor to support the colonial labor system and limited the reproductive labor they could do in the home.

THE STRUGGLE TO SURVIVE: WORK FOR RACIAL ETHNIC WOMEN IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURY UNITED STATES

INTRODUCTION

The recent years have seen an increase in research by Black and other racial ethnic women who attempt to shed light on the connections of gender and race (Davis, 1981; Dill, forthcoming; Hooks, 1981; Moraga and Anzaldua, 1981). They recognize that exploring these dimensions must be appreciated historically, as the forms of racial, sexual and class oppression vary over time and carry different consequences.

Scholars of the subject have to differentiate between how racial ethnic women experience their circumstances and an analysis of their situations. Other than specific experiences which are directly related to biology, race, and class--such as giving birth, attending a segregated school, having access to a middle class suburb and the like, people do not divide experiences into contributing components. Black women do not separate out their experiences and attribute some of them to being Black, some to being female and still others to being working or middle class. They have to live with the results of multiple oppressions, even if the political climate defines certain issues as paramount. Therefore, people who ask women of color to identify whether race or sex is most important misunderstand the issue. Discriminatory and oppressive events hurt an individual woman and are experienced as a totality.

While it is not appropriate to ask women to rank their experiences with regard to different ascribed status, it is possible to address these

different dimensions when analyzing their positions in the social structure. The fact that many dominant culture women experience their own lives as a totality has led to the lack of attention to race and class in their analysis of the social structural influences upon women. Otherwise, they would quickly separate out the impact of sex and the impact of class and they should be able to see what is attributable to their race. The multiple oppressions of racial ethnic women make us keenly aware of the differences between experiences and an analysis of the social structure. In light of this difference we will explore the work roles of 18th and 19th century racial ethnic women.

I begin with racial oppression, not because it is the "most important," be rather it is an essential element in the analysis and defines some of the parameters which will shape gender roles. Too often the reality of racial oppression is shortchanged because of the lack of knowledge of the specific histories of racial ethnic women and myths about their responses to racial oppression. In particular, there is the persistent notion that Black women suffered less in slavery, in segregated institutions, and generally do better in the face of discrimination than Black men (Beale, 1970; Dollard, 1957; Epstein, 1973; Jackson, 1973). Much of this conclusion results from a male bias in scholarship, which ranks males' difficulties achieving "manhood" above the plight of women (Hooks, 1981). Furthermore, the many adaptations Black women have made to insure the survival of their families and themselves are viewed as signs that racial oppression does not hurt, cause many difficulties or come at a high cost. The coping skills of Black and other racial ethnic women have been held against them in assessing the seriousness of racial oppression in their lives. This orientation also appears in works of feminists, who portray Black women as "super strong," and models for dominant culture women (Epstein, 1973; Reid, 1972; Wallace, 1978).

Racial oppression impacts on women differently than men, but it is still dehumanizing and painful.

In addition to the myths about how well racial ethnic women do in society, initial thinking about sexism in the Black community overlooked the role of racial oppression. When charges of sexism were made, Black people looked inward to their own community. As a result they were quick to apply the dominant culture model and this led many to reject the relevance of sexism for them. Black people were not open to the possibility that sexism could look differently to oppressed people than to members of the dominant group. Also it could follow a different course and involve different processes. In particular, the exploitation of racial ethnic women in the wider labor market could precede or follow very quickly their exploitation in the home. This differs from investigations which identify women's exploitation in a patriarchal family as preceding their entrance into sex segregated jobs in the labor market, where employers assume their earnings are only supplemental to a male wage earner's (Sokoloff, 1980). To explore this issue we will look at the work roles of Black, Chinese immigrant and Mexican American women, attending to the impact of racial oppression.

We explore work because racial ethnic people get incorporated into this nation to work. The overwhelming majority of whites coming in the 18th century were or became permanent settlers and engaged in subsistence farming or worked as independent artisans.[1] Africans were brought to work in plantations and turn profits for wealthy planters (Hirata and Bonacich, forthcoming). Otherwise, they would not have been welcomed. Chinese immigrants were not appreciated as independent miners, but thousands were "imported" to work on building the railroads. And Mexican Americans were driven off their own land and made into wage workers for the early lumber, mining, and railroad industries and later in large scale agriculture. In

the early days of capitalist development in this nation, racial ethnic people were first and foremost exploited as workers and were denied political and legal rights to make that exploitation most possible (Blauner, 1972; Jacobs and Landau, 1971).

There was no invitation to racial ethnic workers to participate in other aspects of the social organization of the society, unless it was seen as a way of increasing their willingness to accept their roles.[2] Instead, they were isolated in the slave quarters, on the other side of the tracks of town, in "el barrio," the ghetto and Chinatown. Assimilation was not their fate and physical distance was a key way that fate of life was communicated (Blauner, 1972; Gordon, 1964).

Having identified the fact that racial ethnic people were incorporated into this nation to work, we can now look at the nature of that work. Blauner notes that in the United States colonized people--people of color--provided the labor to develop the "agricultural base and the mineral-transport-communications infrastructure for industrialization and modernization" (1972, p. 62). They performed these tasks at varying times and in different regions as this nation expanded westward. Most importantly, they were barred from industrialized manufacturing jobs once the infrastructure was developed. Instead, they had to seek employment elsewhere, generally in their own communities and in service work (Blauner, 1972; Kuo, 1981; Nee and Nee, 1972). In reaching his conclusions, Blauner primarily attends to the work which men did. Yet, women and men are related to each other. This paper looks at the work roles of women when their racial ethnic communities are involved in either agricultural labor or industrial infrastructure development. Their roles vary depending upon the sector, but they are always involved in helping their families to survive.

AGRICULTURAL WORK

The Antebellum South:

Africans were brought to this nation as slaves. Although initially brought as indentured servants, those numbers were very small. In bondage, they worked primarily in agriculture on large scale plantations, which were the major capitalist establishments at that time (Hirata and Bonacich, forthcoming). Although filled with contradictions which would lead to its downfall and inability to compete with the industrializing North in the 19th century, Southern plantation agriculture was the most dynamic sector of the economy in the 18th century (Dowd, 1977). This was possible because planters found the cheapest supply of labor and cultivated cotton and tobacco, crops which are most profitable on a large scale (Williams, 1966). Coerced labor had its drawbacks, but as long as the tasks were simple and land was available for expansion, this course was more profitable than hired labor.

Initially there was little attention to women in American slavery. Planters were hard pressed to deliver crops within the British capitalist system at a minimum of cost. While the slave trade flourished, planters saw the supply of slaves as plentiful and they worked them hard. So they preferred "robust males" and did not want to tolerate the special needs of women and children (Williams, 1966, p. 38).

This new nation committed itself to ending the slave trade by 1808, before recognizing that Southern agriculture would increase its dependency upon slavery. Therefore it became incumbent upon the slave population to reproduce itself. The role of women as reproducers of the slave population was recognized and their lower rates of production when bearing and nursing children was tolerated (Blassingame, 1979; Owens, 1976). This is one aspect of slavery which differentiates it from the Caribbean islands, where there was little attention to either sex ratios or working conditions and the

slave population decreased (Genovese, 1972; Gutman, 1976). Many see the necessity of reproducing the labor force as a major factor in shaping overall slave conditions. In general, conditions improved into the 19th century and the further a slave was from the frontier (Genovese, 1972). Nevertheless, conditions for slaves in all regions were dictated by labor market conditions, with attention to the next generation being only one of the concerns of planters in the United States.

Thus, childbearing made African and Afro-American women special, but this was minimized by the dependency of Southern agriculture on slave labor, which forced women to work as men. As Davis notes, in order for planters to "extract the greatest possible surplus from the labor of slaves, the Black woman had to be released from the chains of the myth of femininity" (1971, p. 5). One can argue whether or not Black women were ever shackled in those chains, given the dehumanizing impact of racist rhetoric. But it is clear that market factors shaped their roles in the field and therefore their roles as women in the eyes of the dominant group.

Like Black men, Black women were seen as individual units of labor. They did the same duties as men. At times this was rationalized by the fact that "male slaves were harder to obtain" (especially in the 19th century) and planters had to "get along with women" (Owens, 1976, pp. 39-40). In the cultivation of tobacco, cotton and rice, women occupied key positions. In his slave narrative, Solomon Northrup observed that "some planters, owning large cotton and sugar plantations, have none other than the labor of slave women" (cited in Owens, 1976, p. 40).

The willingness of planters to put the crops first, tempered the so-called special treatment of women and children. It was the master's prerogative to decide upon the care of pregnant women and young children.

> During her pregnancy a slave wife usually continued her back-breaking labor until a few weeks before her child was born. Solicitous of the health of a new child, the slave owners generally freed the mother of labor for a few days and often for weeks to feed and nurse the infant. If he was especially interested in rearing slave children (and most masters were), he established a definite routine for nursing the child. (Blassingame, 1979, p. 179)

This was not dictated either by the care of the individual slave or concern for the slave family, but the owner's concern for his property. The marginal nature of the plantation system itself prohibited women from giving infants and children the care they needed. This resulted in a high infant/child mortality rate (Blassingame, 1979; Owens, 1976).

The plantation economy demanded long hours in the field from all workers to achieve a small margin of profit. This was particularly true when the national political economy was increasingly catering to the industrializing North. Within this context Blacks faced many barriers to establishing and maintaining families. As fixed capital, owners demanded much work and legal rights to dispose of their property at will. For women this meant hard work in the fields or "big house" in addition to caring for families in the slave quarters. Sexual assaults meant the denial of their membership in those families and communicated their vulnerability as women. Then there was the ever present threat that the family, the central stabilizing primary group for slaves, would be broken and members sold to different plantations. In slavery, there was little thought to the needs of slave family units and the development of patriarchy within those families. This option, permitted for white industrial workers, was not permitted to flourish in slavery. Here the exploitation of Black women in agricultural work came first and their roles in the slave quarters or "home" came second.

Specific forms of racial oppression change as the political economy shifts and the roles of racial ethnics are varied. Yet, I want to suggest

that in agricultural work, where the dependency on outside capital and the vulnerability to natural forces keeps the margin of profit small, labor will be worked very hard. In this situation, sexual differences weigh little. Everyone has to work. This was the case in slavery, where children began light tasks before they were ten. Once they reached age ten, they generally started in regular work in the fields or "big house" (Blassingame, 1979). There is no differentiation in the labor of racial ethnic men or women--and only passing attention is given to age.

Freedom At Last:

The pattern of ignoring sexual differences and working the entire family does not end with the coming of freedom. In sharecropping, which for many became debt peonage, the landowner still supervised and would coerce families to work in the fields (Jones, 1981). Freed Black families in Southern agriculture from the 1880s through the beginning 20th century preferred that women remain in the home. Women were active in performing domestic chores, childcare, raising and tending farm animals and vegetable gardens (Jones, 1981). Blacks wanted lives which contrasted with slavery and women's home labor actually promoted greater subsistence for proverty stricken families.

Employers, however, were concerned with the withdrawal of women from the labor force and complained about their "loafing." The physical and economic power of the landowners was used to remedy women "spending too much time in their cabins" (Gutman, 1976, pp. 167-168). Often "riders" were used to travel from farm to farm and make sure the entire family was working. In their roles as both landowner and merchant-financier, whites could withdraw credit to families who did not cooperate. The object was to get all family members working in the field. "Thus the individual black family had to bear the brunt of a faltering staple-crop economy" (Jones, 1981, p. 7).

Again we see that the exploitation of women as workers in the larger labor market is primary and efforts are made to limit their participation in a patriarchal family. Having to spend dawn to dusk in the fields seriously limits the time and energy for family life. In terms of relationships with men, this situation might foster either resentment at men's inability to protect them (Hooks, 1981) or an alliance with other family members against the larger forces of capital. Nevertheless, it is evident that the work that racial ethnic women did in the farms and fields along side their men was a central concern of owners and capitalists.

INDUSTRIAL INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT

The other major area of work for racial ethnic people, especially in the 19th century, was building the mechanical infrastructure basis for industrial growth. They built the railroads, opened the mines, and were involved in extracting industries. The presence of racial ethnics in these areas is often overlooked because of myths about their inappropriateness for industrial work. These myths were products of an age when racial ethnics were barred from skilled industrial work. However, racial ethnics were always found doing some type of industrial work. In the antebellum South, for example, slaves did very skilled work and were involved in building the infrastructure for plantations and Southern cities. Although the majority of urban slaves were domestics, they were also trained for other jobs. Whether they were leased or owned, slaves were the basic "labor force in manufacturing or in gangs on railroads and canals" (Wade, 1964, p. 33). Black as slaves did all types of labor and were far from only suited for tilling the soil.

In the building of the Southwest and the West, with slavery prohibited and then soon to be abolished, there continued to be a need for cheap labor. Here, populations other than Blacks were sought and incorporated into a

colonial labor system, in which they were disadvantaged. Defined by Barerra:

> A colonial labor system exists where the labor force is segmented along ethnic and/or racial lines, and one or more of the segments is systematically maintained in a subordinate position. (1979, p. 39)

There are two situations of colonial labor systems which have relevance for a discussion of the position of racial ethnic women. In the first case, men are living and working in the region or area alone and are detached from their families. In the second case, men are living as part of families while they engage in industrial work.

The Sojourners:

This nation has been very successful in reaping the benefits of labor populations produced elsewhere. Single or temporarily unattached males who come to this nation to work have left their mark in every area of the economy. Therefore, the coming of Chinese immigrant male workers is not unusual. The Chinese did not differ in marital status from the Eastern and Southern European men who came to build the subways of New York, to fire the furnaces of the steel mills of Pittsburgh and work in other parts of this industrialized nation (Brody, 1960; Kessner, 1977). The Chinese differ in that they became part of a colonial labor system which gave them few employment options and lower wages than white workers.

The Chinese began arriving in the United States in the 1850s, some after serving as indentured servants in Hawaii, but the majority were a type of indentured servant. The credit-ticket system enabled poor Chinese to come to the U.S., settle and eat without the benefit of cash. Once situated they would begin to work off their debt (Lyman, 1970). Although poor when they began, many were poorer after years of working at very low wages and sending part of their income home to China. But they were prohibited by Chinese social organizations from leaving the U.S. until their debts were paid (Lyman, 1970;

Nee and Nee, 1972).

In 1865, Chinese were hired on an experimental basis by the Central Pacific Railroad and upon proving that they could work, became a major part of the company's labor force. The Central Pacific recruited Chinese immigrants, who were facing restrictions in other areas, and eventually recruited workers directly from China. The harsh conditions for Chinese working on the railroads are vividly described elsewhere (Kingston, 1980; Nee and Nee, 1972). It is estimated that nine out of every ten workers on the western section of the first transcontinental railroad were Chinese. They were paid less than white workers and when they demanded either an eight hour day or the same wages as white men, they were not fed (Nee and Nee, 1972). When the railroad was completed in 1869, barely mentioning the contributions of the Chinese, the industrialists released them to seek other work in an increasingly hostile region.

These working and living conditions influenced the lives of Chinese women, both here and in China. The wives at home in China were tied to patriarchal extended families, with no freedom to seek alternatives. They were insurance that the men would send wages home to support the larger family (Hirata, 1979). The majority of the Chinese women among the sojourner population in the United States were prostitutes. Indeed, in the California gold rush days some of the "first female arrivals were prostitutes of varying racial and national origins" (Hirata, 1979, p. 5). In settings which have an overwhelming ratio of men to women, where men are temporarily released from marital roles, where the taboos against adultery are strong and where there are few legal employment options for women, prostitution becomes a major occupation for women (Goldman, 1981; Hirata, 1979).

Chinese immigrant women working as prostitutes helped their own families in China by sending wages or the funds from their initial sale. They also

enabled the sojourner population to continue a commitment to their own distant nuclear and extended families. A few women came as free agents, but the majority were indentured servants or were sold into slavery. This practice persisted in the face of an 1862 United States law which forbid the importation of involuntary contract labor. The lucrative business in Chinese women's bodies involved the corruption of both Chinese and American officials (Lyman, 1970). In fact, after the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, "an underground traffic in prostitutes" continued into the 20th century (Goldman, 1981, p. 95). Women were needed to serve this isolated working sojourner population, which was barred from marrying white women and from bringing their own wives from China.

Even though prostitution was a common occupation for women during this historical period in the West, racism and the inferior working conditions implicit in the colonial labor system meant Chinese prostitutes faced arduous lives. Low wages for Chinese men meant the pay for Chinese prostitutes was correspondingly low. A picture of their situation, particularly as it contrasts with other prostitutes, is revealed in Goldman's work on the Comstock Lode. In 1875, there were 1,254 Chinese males on the Lode and of the 84 women, 75 were prostitutes (1981, p. 95). The majority of the prostitutes were from peasant families. A few of the women were concubines of the wealthy Chinese in the region, but the majority worked in public establishments. Regardless of the status of their clientele, "the Chinese women's earnings, possessions, and very selves usually belonged to the Chinese men who bought them or their contract in San Francisco" (Goldman, 1981, p. 94). As a scarce resource, Chinese women were the target of kidnappers who not only plagued prostitutes, but the few married women as well (Goldman, 1981; Hirata, 1979). Therefore all Chinese women were vulnerable to sexual exploitation and dependent upon

men for protection. The racism of the day, which isolated the Chinese community, permitted Chinese owners to "retain feudal power" over women. Often this resulted in extreme violence against women, even death, which was barely noticed by U.S. authorities.

The treatment of the Chinese in the U.S. could be called genocidal. The majority of men were caught here unable to either return or reunite their families on U.S. soil. It was obvious that the government did not want a thriving population in this country, but employers wanted and needed the cheap labor. This meant particular suffering for Chinese immigrant women, who were the means to solve some of the problems of a male sojourner population. For many this meant sexual exploitation and slavery. Some saw their only escape as death (Goldman, 1981). Yet, not stigmatized by working class Chinese for their work, since they were viewed as dutiful daughters, marriage when they were older was an option for some (Hirata, 1979).

The Struggle to Maintain Families:

Often employment in infrastructural development and extracting industries took racial ethnic men outside of their families, but in many cases men lived with their families while they did such work. Women were barred from mining, lumbering, and other industrial jobs, but they did play a role in helping the family to survive. We will explore this situation by examining Mexican Americans in the late 19th century.

Mexican Americans were forced into a colonial labor system after they were displaced from the land. Previously they lived in communal villages and haciendas, but a fixed land tax led to quick land changes. Without their land, Mexican Americans were downwardly mobile, lost political power and were driven into wage labor. Some moved into agricultural work and cattle and sheep ranching. Others, beginning in the 1860s, entered railroad construction

and maintenance work, mining, and other extracting industries. The Southwest and West were only viable in the capitalist system if the transportation links were solid. Mexican Americans, along with other racial ethnics, were important in building cross-continental railroads and other segments which linked the region to the rest of the nation.

Before 1870, few Mexican American women worked outside the home (Barrera, 1979; Higginbotham, forthcoming). As their men were forced into a colonial labor system, with its dual wage system, the family became dependent upon a cash economy. This left the entire family more impoverished. Women, both single and married, had to work to help support their families. Thus, they too were forced into a colonial labor system, where their own labor was viewed as cheap and they filled the few jobs which were open to them. Mexican American and recent Mexican immigrant women entered agricultural work, but also found employment in service work and light industry. For example, they worked in fruit canneries, work which was previously done by Chinese males (Barerra, 1979). While Black women were the domestic workers of the South, Mexican American women (along with Chinese males and females) filled this role in the 19th century Southwest. On the frontier, with its sexual imbalance, Mexican-American women worked keeping house, cooking, cleaning, sewing and also singing and dancing. These activities were much appreciated in work and labor camps, where it served to exempt women from the derogatory stereotypes used to describe Mexican American males (Servin, 1974).

Living with their husbands, whose low wages did not permit them to remain in the home, Mexican American women had to raise families and keep house under the worst conditions. In these early years of the mining industry, especially in Arizona, the living conditions were harsh. Under such circumstances household tasks demanded much time and great physical strength. It is not possible to attribute this situation solely to patriarchy. One

must connect the exploitative working conditions for the men to the difficulties women faced working in the home and as wage earners in the wider society. In the taming of the Southwest, the labor of both Mexican American men and women was essential. Here as in other regions, the demands for women's labor in the market placed major burdens on them and influenced gender roles in the home.

CONCLUSION

There is wider variation in racial ethnic women's work in the 18th and 19th century than is pictured here. Mexican American families were also found in sharecropping and debt peonage. Black and Mexican American women also worked as prostitutes, especially in areas with sexual imbalance (Goldman, 1981). Chinese immigrant women were also exploited as domestic workers and did light industrial work (Hirata, 1979). Yet, much is revealed by these examples about the effects of racial ethnic labor market situations on women of color. We see that at times men and women suffered similar plights as workers, even though women had additional duties towards home and children. On the other hand market conditions could offer different employment options to women and men. It is in the latter situations that racial ethnic women are often discussed as "having it a little easier" than men. It is evident from this examination that they continue to have responsibilities to their families which are difficult to perform given the demand for their work in the labor force.

This exploration also reveals little attention either by the state or by employers to the survival of racial ethnic families. Labor which would specifically benefit the family was done after obligations to the commercial market were met. As a cheap source of labor, racial ethnic women were valued first for their contributions to the profits of owners and employers,

while they actually reaped few benefits from the work. Working conditions and low wages continue to limit their options and kept them dependent upon the work which made their lives so difficult.

In agricultural work, women, men, and children were sent to the fields and made to personally bear the problems of slavery and sharecropping as labor systems. Plantation owners used racist rhetoric to justify paying only minor attention to non-work aspects of Black families' lives. In many instances the work in the fields jeopardized labor which would aid the continuation of any specific family. Racial ethnic women were barred from doing the work in infrastructural development. Indeed, this dangerous work, done with minor technological advancements, resulted in many deaths (Nee and Nee, 1972; Servin, 1974). When racial ethnic men did such work, women worked in other positions, both legal and illegal, which insured the continuation of the men's industrial employment. They also did reproductive labor in the home. But major energy was directed to reproductive labor in the larger work force. As prostitutes, domestic workers, rooming housekeepers, cooks in labor camps, and so forth, their job was to serve the wider society first, and it was only their remaining energies which they could devote to their own nuclear and extended families.

This points to some different directions for the study of racial ethnic women compared with dominant culture women. Race is an important key to their oppression, having shaped work and family roles which make them both qualitatively and quantitatively different from dominant culture women. The fact that racial ethnic people were either brought or invited to this nation to work--and to work for less than whites--is a continuing influence on the degree to which they are welcomed as full citizens. Research on the current situations of racial ethnic peoples must be based on a knowledge of their histories and

the specific ways racism and racial oppression have shaped and continue to shape their options and strategies for survival.

FOOTNOTES

1. Many whites initially came to the colonies as indentured servants. Estimates are that about half of the English immigrants were bound for a number of years (Williams, 1966). But upon serving their term, whites then enjoyed limited rights to property, a stipulation which varied from colony to colony. They then became permanent settlers and enjoyed civil rights. In the South the planters preferred African slave labor and recruited fewer indentured servants. For example, Blacks as slaves were one twentieth the population of Virginia and Maryland in 1670 and increased to one fourth the population by 1730. The majority of indentured servants went to the middle colonies, especially Pennsylvania, and upon ending their terms they followed routes similar to other colonists.

2. This is particularly true of the church, but often slaves and other racial ethnics would use such institutions to their own advantage. Genovese (1972) discusses how slaves used institutions, perhaps initially presented to make them accept their positions, to validate their humanness and strengthen their own communities.

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